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ABSTRACT

A detailed examination of the Vietnam war demonstrations on the Iowa State University campus and in Ames (Iowa) in May 1970, utilizing local and student newspaper accounts and interviews contained in an oral history archive, show how words of protest along with critically reasoned behavior led to purposeful student contributions. Through the period in question, student leaders and their most ardent followers as well as university officials were committed to a policy of nonviolence. Many of those who exposed themselves to arrest explained their actions in terms of heightened personal commitment, moral and political, to ending the war. Having spoken out repeatedly about the war in Vietnam, student protesters stepped up their activities after the extraordinary events of the Cambodian invasion and the Kent State-Jackson State killings. They felt the situation required a heightened level of commitment from them. They moved from legal protest to civil disobedience. Meanwhile, university administrators eschewed a heavy-handed approach for strategic reasons as well. They believed that an unnecessary confrontation with students was the surest way to polarize the campus and radicalize the student body. Retrospectively, administrators agreed that they had been right not to order the arrest of students occupying the armory the night of May 5-6 or even subject the armory occupiers to disciplinary actions. (Includes 12 notes; contains 38 references and a 32-item selected bibliography.) (TB)

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Moo U and the Cambodia Invasion: Anti-Vietnam War Protest at Iowa State University, May 1970

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'Silence makes cowards out of men.'
Abraham Lincoln, quoted on a mass produced Ames Peace Center and Iowa State University Moratorium Committee poster

'There are times when words don't satisfy the cause.'
Leon Apt, ISU History Professor, quoted at Iowa State University Vital Issues Seminar, May 15, 1970

Twenty-five years ago on April 30, President Richard Nixon in a television address to the nation announced the invasion of Cambodia by American and South Vietnamese troops. Nixon, whose 1968 election campaign included hints of a 'secret plan' to bring the war in Vietnam to an 'honorable end,' told the American people the 'incursion' was necessary to destroy 'sanctuaries' from which the North Vietnamese attacked the South. The Cambodian invasion sparked hundreds of demonstrations throughout the United States, particularly on college campuses. Within days the protests took a deadly turn as Ohio National Guardsmen fired on student demonstrators at Kent State University, killing four. Ten days later Mississippi Highway Patrolmen and local police opened fire on a Jackson State College (now Jackson State University) dormitory, killing two students. Across the country outrage over the Cambodian invasion and the student deaths became intertwined. Iowa State University (ISU) in Ames, Iowa, was one of over thirteen hundred colleges and universities that held protests during May 1970 (Wells 1994, 425).

The May events marked an important milestone for the ISU antiwar movement. For the first time Iowa State students were arrested en masse for their protest activities.[1] A sit-in at the Selective Service Office in downtown Ames led to the arrest of twenty-three students on May 7; several days later fifteen persons, including students and an ISU faculty member, were arrested when they attempted to halt a bus taking draftees to their pre-induction physicals in Des Moines. Unlike other campuses, the Cambodia-Kent State-Jackson State protests at ISU were by and large nonviolent and not destructive. At those events with large-scale student participation, only minor scuffling marred the nonviolent atmosphere and the property damage that occurred was insignificant. The most serious instance of violence in Ames during this period, the explosion of a bomb in a window well of the municipal building, was not linked to antiwar activities (the bombing has never been solved, but at no time were ISU student protesters serious suspects in the case).

In this paper, we will examine in detail events on the Iowa State campus and in Ames in May 1970, utilizing newspaper accounts and participant interviews contained in an oral history archive collected at the time by the Special Collections Department of the Iowa State University Library. Before reviewing these events, we provide a brief overview of the national antiwar movement and antiwar activities at ISU earlier in the 1969-70 school year. Then we turn to an analysis of the motivations of student protestors and

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explain why events were by and large nonviolent. We hope to add to more general studies on the antiwar movement and the 1960s an in-depth account of antiwar activity on one campus.[2] Relatively few studies of the antiwar movement focus on specific universities and those that do deal with the handful of universities that received extensive media attention during the 1960s and 1970s.[3] Two recent exceptions are Kenneth Heineman's Campus Wars (1993), which looks at antiwar activity at Kent State University, Michigan State University, Pennsylvania State University and the State University of New York at Buffalo, and Patrick Kennedy's study of the University of Illinois.[4] We hope that our study of ISU, coupled with Heineman and Kennedy's work and histories of specific antiwar organizations, will contribute to a fuller understanding of this controversial period in American history.[5]

Background

Isolated picket signs protesting U.S. involvement in Vietnam began appearing at disarmament rallies sponsored by peace groups as early as spring 1963 when the "official" American role in Vietnam was limited to providing military aid and advisors to the non-Communist South (DeBenedetti 1990, 87). Campus protest began soon thereafter. When Madame Ngo Diem Nhu, sister-in-law of South Vietnam's president, Ngo Dinh Diem, toured the United States in fall 1963, she was greeted by protestors at Harvard, Princeton and the Universities of Michigan and Chicago (DeBenedetti 1990, 91). The next year saw sporadic campus protests in response to U.S. air raids against North Vietnam following the Tonkin Gulf incident and other evidence of increasing U.S. involvement (DeBenedetti 1990, 107).

Antiwar protests on college campuses began in earnest in 1965 with the March 24-25 teach-in at the University of Michigan (Wells 1994, 23-24). By this time President Lyndon Johnson had stepped up the bombing of North Vietnam and sent in U.S. ground combat troops (two battalions of Marines charged with protecting the Da Nang airfield). The Michigan teach-in format was copied by numerous colleges across the country and caused the Johnson administration to send out "truth squads" to counter the criticism of U.S. Vietnam policy that dominated the teach-ins (Wells 1994, 29-30). In April 1965, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) sponsored the first national anti-Vietnam War march and rally in Washington, D.C. (DeBenedetti 1990, 111-12).

As the U.S. government increased its involvement in Vietnam (U.S. troop strength would peak in early 1969 at 543,400) the antiwar movement matched the military escalation in Indochina by escalating the level of protest and engaging in a wider range of protest activities. On college campuses, there were demonstrations against the draft, military and CIA recruiters, defense contractors like Dow Chemical, military-related university research and the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC). Legal protest tactics ranged from religiously-based fasts and vigils to counterculture-inspired guerrilla theater. College students joined other American citizens in lobbying politicians and working for peace candidates, most notably Senators Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy whose antiwar stands brought them the support and aid of numerous college students in their 1968 presidential bids. Some protestors, adopting the tactics of the American civil rights movement, engaged in peaceful civil disobedience, risking arrest for participation in sit-ins and draft-card burnings. Others took civil disobedience several steps

further, invading draft boards and destroying Selective Service records with homemade napalm (Wells 1994, 263-64; DeBenedetti 1990, 230).

The continuation of the war caused much frustration within the peace movement, frustration that led antiwar groups to turn on one another. By spring 1970 the national antiwar movement had been torn apart over the question of tactics. The most radical element (always numerically small, but receiving a disproportionate share of media attention) deliberately sought confrontations with police and engaged in bombings and other violent acts in order to "bring the war home" (Wells 1994, 2-3). Among the national antiwar leaders still committed to peaceful protest, some wondered about the usefulness of yet more marches and demonstrations; this despite the fact that in October 1969 over two million Americans ("an outpouring of dissent unprecedented in American history") participated in Vietnam Moratorium protests throughout the country (Wells 1994, 371-73; DeBenedetti 1990, 255-57) and in November 1969 the largest antiwar rally to date was held in Washington, D.C.[6] Antiwar activists also had to contend with Nixon administration policies designed to mollify popular opposition to the war -- the withdrawal of U.S. troops and transfer of combat responsibilities to the South Vietnamese army and institution of a draft lottery to replace the discredited Selective Service system, long a target of protest due to its reputation for racial and class bias.

The Vietnam War and the antiwar movement that arose to counter it shaped life on American college campuses in various ways and to varying degrees in the 1960s. Although a handful of events at a half dozen schools -- the University of California-Berkeley free speech movement, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara besieged by angry Harvard students, the student takeover of Columbia University, the explosion at the Army Math Research Center at the University of Wisconsin-Madison -- represent the student movement in the popular mind, antiwar activities went on at hundreds of colleges and universities, many of those schools considered "conservative" and "mainstream," and some, like Iowa State, located in the nation's "heartland."

Iowa State University was one of sixty-nine colleges established as a result of the 1862 Morrill Land Grant Act. The Morrill Act gave public land to the states to finance colleges of "agriculture and mechanic arts" (Tindall 1992, 694). ISU's curriculum expanded and changed during its century-long existence, but its original commitment to "practical education" was still evident in 1970. For decades ISU has been referred to both affectionately and derisively as "Moo U" in recognition of its beginning as the "Iowa Agricultural College" and its national reputation in agriculture research. In 1970 (and currently) the university's official name was "Iowa State University of Science and Technology," a name that proclaims its emphasis on scientific and professional training rather than the humanities and fine arts. Of the 21,000 students attending Iowa State during the 1969-70 academic year, over half were enrolled in the university's professional schools -- the Colleges of Agriculture, Education, Engineering, Home Economics and Veterinary Medicine. About six thousand students were in the College of Sciences and Humanities and three thousand in the Graduate College (Iowa State University 1971-73, 527). Faculty and administrators who were interviewed in connection with the May 1970 protests characterized the ISU student body as "mildly conservative," "quite mature and quite level headed," "a quiet, reticent group of kids; the kind that you expect to be coming from small rural towns" (Bell, 14; Lendt,

16; Sharlin, 14).[7] But antiwar sentiment had taken root among a portion of those quiet, conservative and level-headed students. The 1969-70 academic year witnessed a wide-range of ongoing protest activities so that a core of committed student leaders were on hand to respond when Nixon announced the Cambodian invasion on April 30.

Antiwar activity at ISU, September 1969-May 1970

No significant mass protest had been generated against the Vietnam War at Iowa State University before October 1969. There were small protests against Dow Chemical and ROTC in 1968, a lone protester against Marine recruiting on campus for one day during Winter quarter 1969 and a small sit-in during a ROTC award ceremony in May 1969 which resulted in the arrest of two persons (ISD 10/12/68, 1; ISD 5/27/70, B-4).[8] The most significant campus activism of 1968-69 concerned the firing of the Dean of Students (ADT 1/23/69, 1) in January 1969.

However, the 1969-70 school year was surprisingly active in terms of antiwar efforts at Iowa State University. Most of the activity centered around the ISU Moratorium Committee. The Moratorium was organized around a slowly escalating "end of business as usual" campaign. As announced, one day of antiwar efforts was to occur in October, two in November, three in December, and so on until the war ended. It copied a tactic utilized successfully by Mahatma Gandhi in India. The early Moratorium efforts set new standards for student involvement at ISU and by the time of the Cambodian invasion in May 1970 the ISU chapter would be one of the few remaining active Moratorium committees in the United States.

Like hundreds of other campuses around the country, the ISU Moratorium Committee got started in September 1969. At the initiative of Clyde Brown, ISU sophomore and State Moratorium Coordinator, ISU Young Democrats and the Political Action Front organized support for the October 15 National Moratorium Day (ISD 9/20/69, 1).[9] (Brown became the State Moratorium Coordinator when a former ISU student, Tom Higgins, stepped down from the post to become campaign manager for Democratic Gubernatorial candidate State Senator Bill Gannon.) Early activities included leafleting a speech by conservative Bill Rusher, wearing black armbands, gaining support from the Government of the Student Body (GSB), Faculty Council and the Ames City Council, organizing a planning meeting which drew six hundred people, reading aloud names of American service personnel killed in Vietnam in an around-the-clock vigil on the steps of the central administration building, Beardshear Hall, and sponsoring a pre-rally and sing-in (ISD 9/27/69 1; ISD 10/1/69, 1; ISD 10/4/69, 6; ISD 10/9/69, 1). The Iowa State Moratorium Committee's goals were stated as:

> The tactics used by the Iowa State Moratorium Committee shall at all times be nonviolent. Tactics shall stress that the means are more important than the ends. The goals of the Moratorium are threefold: (1) To communicate our objections to America's involvement in Vietnam; (2) To communicate the moral obligation citizens have to help organize for the end of the war; (2) To bring an end to the war (ISD 10/4/69, 6).

These activities generated the largest showing of antiwar sentiment up to then with an estimated 2,500 participating in a convocation at C.Y. Stephens

Auditorium on the ISU campus followed by a procession downtown to the draft board where marchers 'bought back' draft registrants by silently delivering cards with pennies attached to the draft board clerks (ISD 10/16/69, 1, 7-8, 11-13, and 15; DMR 10/16/70, 1 and 4). Tulips were planted in an area near the draft board which would become known as 'Tulip Park.'

The November Moratorium in retrospect appears to have been a setback which failed in serious ways to capitalize on the momentum gained in October. Responding to pressures by older, more veteran antiwar activists, the Moratorium Committee refused to reveal its November plans while engaging in a publicity campaign which promised an 'end to symbolism,' raising the prospect of direct action against the war (ISD 11/7/69, 1; ISD 11/11/69, 1). While the intrigue probably generated some public interest, the foreclosing of mass involvement at a time when many students were prepared to increase their level of commitment to the antiwar cause was clearly ill-advised. On November 12, a handful of antiwar leaders at Iowa State University filed briefs with area courts attempting to get an injunction which would halt the operation of the Story County draft board. The legal initiative was summarily dismissed by court authorities (ISD 11/13/69, 1; DMR 11/13/70, 5). On campus a mock trial was held airing charges of conspiracy to commit murder against the Story County draft board members (DMR 11/14/70, 12).

To regain lost ground, the Committee engaged in a variety of activities in December which were designed to be attractive to a wide variety of participants and to engender greater public support and approval. Major efforts were directed at the community; an Ames Peace Center was opened in the downtown business district and a city-wide door-to-door campaign was conducted (other communities in Story and Boone counties were canvassed later) which eventually raised over $5,000 for the American Friends Service Committee's children's hospital in Quang Ngai Province, South Vietnam (ISD 12/5/69, 1; ISD 12/13/69, 13; ISD 1/6/70, 6). The stated goal of the fund raising effort was to collect 4,500 dimes for the then 45,000 American deaths in Vietnam.

While the December activities did not draw the mass support of the October Moratorium, a core of several hundred students remained active in opposing the war including a leadership cadre who did little else. A reduction in participation was a common phenomena at this time across the country. The task of maintaining an on-going grass-roots organization for many months produced a weariness among war protesters. In January, the national Vietnam Moratorium Committee abandoned its strategy of adding an additional day each month, announced it would concentrate its activities at the local level, and indicated that its next nationally coordinated protest would coincide with the April 15, 1970, income tax deadline. The decentralization effort of the national Moratorium involved establishing multi-state regional offices. Iowa State was initially selected for the Great Plains regional office since it was one of the most active remaining Moratorium groups in the country. Instead a regional office was opened in Des Moines when it was determined that Iowa's capital city had better office facilities and better media access.

January saw a variety of antiwar activities tied in part to a commemoration of the birthday and assassination of the Reverend Martin Luther King. A class boycott, a peace march by 'sandwich persons' representing each month of the Vietnam War documenting the growing number of American,

Vietnamese military and Vietnamese civilian deaths, a 'village reading' in the Iowa State Memorial Union during which Iowa towns were symbolically 'bombed' on a wall-size map of Iowa (towns were covered up with a Moratorium dove sticker) while the names of actually bombed Vietnamese villages were announced, and an evening memorial service for Dr. King occurred on January 15 under the theme 'Too Many Have Died' (ISD 1/13/70, 1; ISD 1/16/70, 1).

February represented a lull in protest activities for the Moratorium with the only scheduled event being a two-day showing of Emile de Antonio's anti-Vietnam War documentary, 'In the Year of the Pig.' On another front, the seeds of what would turn into a 'free speech' campaign were planted when ISU senior and Navy veteran Robert Trembly clashed with Memorial Union management over his right to display an antiwar sign and when an impromptu practice session by student-guitarist Sue Osborn in the Memorial Union Commons turned into a protest against Marine recruiters operating out of a booth in the Union (ISD 1/20/7, 1; ISD 2/14/70, 1). Protests against the University's policy banning student demonstrations and against military recruiters in the Union would become a focus in subsequent months for antiwar activists not directly associated with the Moratorium.

Antiwar activities took two paths in March. First, student protests continued in the Union and against The Chart, the University's official policy statement governing student behavior, which provided for the dismissal of students who engaged in disruptive demonstrations. A protest in the Union against Marine recruiters featuring beat-generation poet Alan Ginsburg (by chance in town) led to University sanctions against about two dozen students (ISD 3/17/70, 1; ISD 3/18/70, 1). An almost daily series of protest demonstrations led by the newly-formed New Life Community occurred over the next two weeks and resulted in University charges against almost fifty students (ISD 3/26/70, 8; ISD 4/8/90, 1). Second, the ISU Moratorium Committee, in what turned out to be a stoke of bad luck, decided to call attention to the ever-widening conflict in Southeast Asia by protesting the U.S. air war in Laos (ISD 3/13/70, 8). While the undeclared air war in Laos surpassed in magnitude and intensity the bombing in Vietnam and, as such, warranted the attention and opposition of Moratorium supporters, in retrospect the Moratorium Committee missed an historic opportunity by selecting Laos over Cambodia for their approbation. In what was called the 'first demonstration against U.S. involvement in Laos,' the ISU group received some national attention with a Laos teach-in featuring nationally renown antiwar activist and Hostra University professor Louis Lomax, a national Moratorium spokesperson, and local Vietnam War scholar John Rundle. A small protest march of blindfolded students led by a costumed red, white and blue Captain America ended at the campustown U.S. Post Office where letters were mailed to congressional representatives. Police were called when postal workers thought students had stolen the American flag Captain America was wearing (ISD 3/24/70, 2).

In April, local Moratorium leadership passed from Brown to two other activists, first year student Barb Beattie and senior Jeff Klomp. They focused on a wide range of political and cultural activities, the two most significant being a community-wide referendum on Southeast Asian policy and an anti-tax rally in Des Moines as part of the national Moratorium strategy (ISD 4/9/70, 7).[10] On April 20th, the national Moratorium disbanded and local

activists talked about the Moratorium becoming 'an individual thing' and the efficacy of other political activities besides protest (ISD 4/28/70, 6). Like the national organization, the local group had struck bottom (Wagstaff 35).

Anti-Cambodian Invasion Response at ISU, May 1970

On April 30, 1970, there were rumors that South Vietnamese troops would invade Cambodia; President Richard Nixon had scheduled a television speech to the nation for that evening. Few considered the possibility that American troops would spearhead the incursion into the Parrot's Beak and Fishhook regions of Cambodia. That afternoon, Brown staged a solo blindfolded sit-in (a carryover from the Captain America blindfold march five weeks before) across from the Marine recruiter's booth in the Union (ISD 5/1/70, 1).

The first collective response to the Cambodian invasion was a 'People's Rally' on Saturday, May 2. A decision was made by organizers to hold the midday event off-campus to facilitate community involvement. Organizers felt it was a critical time when either the country would slip into apathy or a massive cry of outrage would be forthcoming (Klomp 2-3). About 400 people demanding 'Out of Cambodia' marched from the municipal band shell on the east edge of town through the business district, stopping for fifteen minutes at the major downtown intersection of Main and Kellogg, before preceding to the Story County Selective Service headquarters on the west end of downtown (ISD 5/5/70, 1).

Two days later, May 4, and following a Sunday evening 'think session' with friends as to what could be done about the Cambodian invasion, Brown placed three small white crosses labeled 'Vietnam,' 'Laos,' and 'Cambodia' in the ground outside the draft board office, as well as a placard with a popular local Moratorium poster featuring a quote by Abraham Lincoln: 'Silence makes cowards out of men' (ISD 5/3/70, 6; Brown 4-5). As unfounded rumors spread that Brown had been arrested, a couple of dozen students flocked to the draft board. Graduate student Barb Yates and sophomore Doug Marks stayed and participated in the vigil (Marks 3-4). The protesters left when they were threatened with arrest for trespassing, but the crosses remained.

On the same day, around noon, the Ohio National Guard opened fire on protesters at Kent State University and four students were killed. The next morning there was a meeting to organize a response at ISU. Thinking there was a weekly ROTC drill occurring on the field north of Beyer Hall, a group of students went to the field to talk to the cadets. Learning that the drills took place on Wednesdays, not Tuesdays, the group moved their protest to the Naval (ROTC) Science Building where about fifty protesters blocked the entrance (DMR 5/6/70, 1). Later discovering that there was a ROTC drill going on in the Armory, the students shifted locations and staged a sit-in there which disrupted the planned event. This sit-in became an occupation of the facility when the demonstrators refused to leave. The University tried to get Iowa Attorney General Richard Turner to issue an injunction, but he declined claiming it could not be done before his office closed for the day (Sandeen 6). Instead, he advised ISU administrators to 'use the football squad to go in and carry them out of there' (Layton 3). The students were threatened with disciplinary action by Vice President of Student Affairs Wilbur Layton, but remained until the next morning (ISD 5/6/70, 1 and 3). That evening at the regularly scheduled weekly meeting of the Student Senate, at the initiative of

Trembly and Marks, the GSB passed a resolution for a one-day strike and encouraged students to attend a 'Mass Rally' and memorial service for the Kent State casualties at noon the next day on central campus (ISD 5/6/70, 1; Parkin 2).

Before sunrise on the morning of Wednesday, May 6, two dozen of the Armory occupiers moved to the flag pole on central campus where they planned to insist that the flag be flown at half-mast in memory of the Kent State dead. When a university employee arrived at sunrise to hoist the flag he saw from a distance that his access to the flag pole was blocked by a ring of students. His superior instructed him by phone not to try to raise the flag (ISD 5/7/90, 6). Later that morning there was a brief scuffle between antiwar protesters and two student members of Conservatives for Constructive Change, Richard Bjornseth and Bill Augustine, who wanted to raise an American flag they had brought. Antiwar protestors, especially graduate student Richard Bender, prevented them from doing so (Bjornseth and Augustine 1-4; Brown 13-16).

The Wednesday morning issue of the Iowa State Daily had a banner headline 'STRIKE' and reported extensively on the previous day's events. The 'Mass Rally' drew three thousand persons to central campus. A compromise between the Administration and GSB resulted in the American flag being set at half-staff during the rally (Parkin 7; Layton 5). Scheduled speakers included local ministers, GSB leaders, faculty, protest leaders, and the Mayor of Ames. Protest leaders went into the rally without an agreement as to what their strategy should be. Trembly wanted to target ROTC, but Brown was opposed, favoring a sit-down on a nearby thoroughfare, Lincoln Way (Trembly 12; Brown 17).

Unknown to other rally organizers, Trembly planned to call for a peaceful sit-in at the ROTC drill field if he learned that the weekly (Wednesday) drill was occurring. When a 'scout' reported back that the ROTC drill was on, Trembly took the microphone before he was scheduled to speak and urged the crowd to follow him over to the field (Trembly 9). He said, 'It is absurd for us to have a 'peace' rally while we have people only a few hundred yards away from us who are getting ready to go over there and kill' (DMR 5/7/70, p. 7). At that point a small cadre led by recent ISU graduate Bill Swan with a red flag started for the ROTC drill field (Trembly 12); about three-quarters of those assembled followed. As the group left Brown asked them to go 'with love and not hate' (ISD 5/7/70, p. 9). At the field they found an Army ROTC unit practicing; the students disrupted the drill by sitting on the field, putting flowers in the cadets' uniforms, and talking with the cadets. Some shouting at the cadets occurred and protest marshalls had to police the offending students (Klomp 10; Marks 8; Schnoor 3-4). After the ROTC unit fell out, the group of two thousand persons occupied the near-by Armory again. After a short stay, a (football) chant of 'All the Way to Lincoln Way!' was taken up by the crowd and they departed, heading back across campus. Their route took them past the library, Beardshear Hall and the Memorial Union, picking up additional students as they went, until they spilled onto Ames' main street (also U.S. Highway 30), Lincoln Way, filling all four lanes of the boulevard. In short order, several thousand protesters blocked traffic by occupying the intersection of Beach and L-Way on the University's eastern edge.

At this juncture, protest leaders were divided about what their next move should be. Protest actions had occurred at both the ROTC field and on Lincoln Way which had been the original point of disagreement between Trembly and Brown. Some urged going downtown to the business district, but Brown feared vandalism and wanted the group to remain where it was (Brown 19). While the leaders debated, a break-away group with the red flag headed east down Lincoln Way towards the business district. The group paused and returned when the main crowd urged them to 'come back.' After serious debate among the organizers, it was decided to let the crowd vote on what to do next. Options were made known to the crowd by means of a police car sound system and a vote was taken. During this time, the lead group again embarked for downtown. The main group decided by vote to march downtown to the draft board following the parade route of the October Moratorium. Approximately one thousand students with Brown as the head parade marshall started moving toward the business district shouting 'We Don't Want Nixon's War!' (DMR 5/7/70, 6 and 7). A little while later a third group, headed by Trembly, followed so that the protest march was strung out in three distinct segments. Eventually, the groups came together in the business district, a few blocks from the draft board. At this point, Trembly reported being sternly warned by Brown 'not to interfere' because Brown still feared that some marchers might turn destructive (Trembly 15). At the draft board there was a peaceful rally (ISD 5/7/70, 1 and 9). Again, leaders were uncertain as to what course of action to take. Some were interested in occupying the draft board to keep the draft board employees from leaving at the end of the work day; it was decided, however, that rather than locking in the draft clerks and causing them personal inconvenience, the office should not be allowed to open the next morning.

Early in the morning on Thursday, May 7, protesters congregated outside the draft board office. The outside door lock had been glued and a locksmith was required to open it. About twenty persons went inside the building and staged a sit-in on the stairwell leading down to the Selective Service Office while many more milled around outside. The owner of the building, Ames accountant Robert Pyle, asked the student to leave at about 8:30. One student worked out an agreement with Pyle for a three-person contingent to stay in the entryway until midday if the others would leave. City Attorney James Bishop overruled the agreement (Cott 8-11)[11]. Dean of Students Office personnel tried without success to talk the students into leaving (Bell 5; Sandeen 14). At 9:00 Bishop ordered the police 'To move them out,' according to Brown who was negotiating near the entrance to the building with Bishop at that moment. Brown was arrested when he requested police to move aside so he could join the group inside (Brown 28-29). The demonstrators were warned by police that they would be arrested if they did not vacate immediately. Local activist and ISU draft counsellor Jim Hannah gave advice to those inside the building to lock their arms to make their impending arrest more difficult, but 'not to hit anyone' (Shelton 9-10). Police pulled out six persons at the top of the stairs, using blackjacks to break the protesters' grip, but others could not be extracted. They were then told that tear gas would be used against them if they did not leave. Hannah, who had experienced tear gas before, explained to the group what to expect (Hannah 8). In short order, Ames Assistant Police Chief Tom Lyttle dropped a cannister of tear gas which immediately emptied the building. As protesters staggered out they were arrested by officers of the Ames Police, Story County Sheriff's Office, and the State Bureau of Criminal Investigation. In several instances, blackjacks and mace, as well as hair

pulling, were used by police making arrests (ISD 5/8/70, 1 and 7; Landt 5-6; Johnson 10). Two students, Klomp and Marks, were arrested on the spot when they voiced strenuous objections about police behavior to Bishop (Klomp 25).

In the aftermath of the protest, twenty-three students were arrested and taken to the Ames City Jail for processing and the draft board office was closed because of tear gas fumes (ADT 5/7/70, 1; DMR 5/8/70, 1 and 5). All were charged jointly with illegal assembly and disturbing the peace. Brown, Trembly and Klomp [two others would be added later (Hannah and freshman Loras Frieburger)], were also charged with a state felony of resisting arrest which carried a maximum sentence of one thousand dollar fine and one year imprisonment. (Resisting arrest charges were later dropped against Klomp on the grounds of mistaken identity. Charges were filed against Frieburger on May 15, 1970 and against Hannah on June 8, 1970.) All four would literally or technically deny the resisting arrest charge: Brown claiming he went limp when taken into custody (Brown 28-29), Hannah noting that he was unconscious from inhaling fumes from the tear gas cannister which he carried out of the building (Hannah 10; Klomp 24), and Trembly and Frieburger who locked arms and legs together claiming passive self-defense on their part (Trembly 23-24). Some observers took exception with Trembly and Frieburger's account (Landt 11). Many felt at the time that the more serious charges involved a strategy by legal authorities to get at and neutralize the protest leaders. Bishop and Assistant Story County Attorney William Gibbons at a press conference suggested that the arrests would prevent a "disruptive element" from causing more trouble (DMT 5/7/70, 21).

As word of the protesters' arrest reached campus a campaign was organized by faculty and students to raise bail money (S. Lawrence 3-4). A "Noon Rally" of about one thousand people was organized by GSB vice-president Jerry Parkin to raise bail money (Parkin 17-18). YWCA Executive Director Claudia Johnson spoke saying that "people who were demonstrating were not disturbing the peace, but disturbing the War" (Johnson 12). By late afternoon all those arrested were out on bond totaling $4,350, including a $2,000 bond for Trembly's resisting arrest charge (ISD 5/6/70, 1 and 5). During the arraignment, first year student Sally Bennett was arrested for contempt of court for allegedly yelling an obscenity at Municipal Judge John McKinney (ISD 5/14/70, 1, Bennett 1-8). Later that afternoon, at a hastily organized rally back on campus some two hundred persons heard the arrestees talk about the day's events. Trembly claimed "We're Winning" and Brown termed the sit-in a "victory" while calling for another sit-in at the draft board office the next morning (ISD 5/8/70, 3; ADT 5/8/70, 1).

Approximately two hundred persons responded to Brown's call and rallied outside the draft building Friday morning, May 8. At 7:30, Pyle asked the group to leave, as did Assistant Police Chief Tom Lyttle a half-hour later. Because there was a rumor that the building would not open due to the left-over tear gas fumes, protest leaders moved the group across the street to "Tulip Park." A short time later Pyle ordered the building closed for the day (ISD 5/9/70, 1).

City Attorney Bishop got into an argument with a small group of faculty who took exception to the way events were handled the day before. Bishop responded by accusing the faculty present of "stirring up trouble" (Metzler 6-7). The professors explained why they considered the war unconstitutional

(ADT 5/8/70, 1). Students, led by Craig Klein, presented a chagrined, but apprehensive Bishop with a chocolate cake decorated with 'Peace NOW.' Fearful that the cake was laced with LSD or laxatives and claiming to be allergic to chocolate, Bishop gave the cake to police officers. They eventually disposed of it uneaten (ISD 5/9/70, 1).

The next day was Veishea Saturday at Iowa State; Veishea (the name is derived from the first letters of the various colleges at ISU) at the time was the largest student-run event in the United States and served as a kind of open house/festival for prospective and current students. Given recent events, there was concern on the part of University administrators that people would not attend the event and that disruption or violence might take place during Veishea. At the behest of ISU officials, Brown went on WOI-TV to assure the public that it was safe to come to Ames and to encourage people to take part in Veishea. His motivation, in part, was to expose high school age students to antiwar views by attending Veishea. While a couple of high school marching bands did withdraw from the Veishea parade because of safety concerns and because all firearms had been banned (including those used by honor guards), overall attendance as Veishea was at the same level of recent years.

In addition to the normal floats, displays and marching units, the Veishea parade ended with a public 'March of Concern' followed by a two thousand person 'Peace Rally' against militarism and the war in southeast Asia. The lead banner in the march read 'While We Play, Others Die. Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Kent State.' Signatures on petitions to 'end the War' were collected and both events were noted at the time for the participation of faculty and community members. University President Robert W. Parks used the opportunity to speak about the situation at ISU. Parks said:

> I ask you, above all, to be peaceful in your protests and other expressions of concern. Violence and disruption would not only drive away potential supporters of your cause, but would also make it extraordinarily difficult to retain an open campus for the expression of differing points of view. I am glad that you are holding this peaceful rally. Meetings such as this are in harmony with the methods and purposes of a great university.

Monday morning, May 11, fifty demonstrators were back at the draft board to see if it would open. Pyle complained emotionally to students that they were 'hurting his business' and asked them to leave. Marks attempted to enter the building but was prevented by three policemen. It soon became apparent that the office would remain closed another day due to the tear gas residue. Discussion among the group led to a decision to return to the Selective Service office the next morning at 6:00 a.m. to prevent the departure of a passenger bus scheduled to take young men to their pre-induction draft physicals in Des Moines (ISD 5/12/70, 1).

Forty-one men were aboard the bus when about one hundred people elbowed their way past a police line, surrounded the vehicle and sat on the pavement in the early morning darkness. Earlier strategy sessions had dismissed more drastic measures, such as puncturing the tires or putting sugar in the gas tank (Gross 6; Marks 20 and 23), and agreed that those arrested at the first demonstration should avoid arrest a second time (Brown 55; Klomp 29). Ames Police Chief Arnie Siedelmann ordered them off the street. When protesters

ignored the order, police started grabbing, pushing and tossing people aside to clear a path for the bus. Some of those who were displaced, returned to their original positions. Police then started taking people into custody. While some arrests occurred with a minimum of police force, others involved hair pulling, blows with blackjacks, and choke holds (Gross 8; K. Patton 34). After about ten minutes of intense action, the bus was able to drive off. Fifteen of the protesters were arrested for unlawful assembly and disturbing the peace; four (English professor Norris Yates, on-and-off student Steve Ewoldt, and juniors Norm Burrell and Janis Mae Platt) were also charged with resisting arrest (ADT 5/12/70, 1; ISD 5/13/70, 1; DMR 5/13/70, 3; DMT 5/12/70, 1 and 3).

There was consternation in some circles that the bus protest had not been totally nonviolent. It is likely that a policemen was kicked and a photographer shoved (Ewoldt 8-9; Gross 10); other minor acts probably occurred (Sandeen 26). Brown admitted 'this instance wasn't as pure in the sense of being nonviolent as the first incident at the draft board had been' (57). Some in GSB initially did not want to bail out all the protesters, but in the end the group was bailed out on $3,500 bond (Potts 19; S. Lawrence 6-7).

On the same day as the bus protest, it was announced that the draft board would relocate to the U.S. Post Office. Also, the University cancelled the Governor's Day ROTC ceremony due to concerns about disruption, and the first counter-demonstration was organized. A two-hundred person 'Patriot's Rally' organized by ISU students Kathy Meyer and Debra Pappas was held at the band shell near downtown. It ended with a six-block march of about six hundred persons singing 'God Bless America' through the business district to the municipal parking lot. Only fifty to seventy-five students participated in the march; the crowd was dominated by older members of the Ames community including military veterans and 'laborers' (Goodale 26). One of the most visible marchers was City Attorney Bishop. The procession was bookended by cement trucks decorated with American flags (ISD 5/13/70, 1; ADT 5/13/70, 1). Later that evening three thousand students rallied on central campus to support student antiwar activities in local communities during the upcoming summer months; they sang 'Give Peace a Chance' (DMR 5/13/70, 1 and 3).

On May 13, Sally Bennett appeared before Judge McKinney on the contempt charge. Even though two witnesses swore that she had not shouted the obscenity and, later, the person responsible came forward, Bennett was sentenced and served seven days in the county jail (ISD 5/14/70, 1). On the same day, at various times, Marks, Kundrat and Brown staged a silent protest outside the downtown Post Office (ISD 5/15/70, 1; Marks 21-22; Kundrat 27-29).

On Thursday and Friday, May 14 and 15, concerned faculty organized and participated in the Vital Issues Seminars program. About 400 people attended seminars on the antiwar movement, women and the war, nonviolence, economics and the war, draft resistance, history of fascism, conscientious objection, passive self-defense and other topics (ISD 5/20/70, 1). An Iowa State Daily report (5/20/70, 2) quoted extensively from ISU History Professor Leon Apt's Friday comments:

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> There are times when words don't satisfy the cause. What can we do when, after the horror of Kent State, the President's aides said that the unrest would blow over in 24 hours? We must do something, and once we start, we must continue. To do nothing is to accept the horror of the present, and to say that we can't change it. Protest is the only tangible hope.

Locally, those charged with resisting arrest for the May 7 Selective Service Office protest were in court to set dates for further proceedings.

As if to add to the horror, police opened fire on a women's dormitory at Jackson State College in Mississippi that same day and killed two black students while wounding fifteen others. ISU campus reaction involved the Black Student Organization (BSO) declaring May 20 as "Memorial Day for the Jackson State dead and wounded" (ISD 5/19/70, 1). About 350 persons marched from the Black Cultural Center in campustown to central campus where a memorial service was held (DMR 5/21/70, 3; ISD 5/21/70, 1). At the request of the BSO, the University lowered the American flag on central campus to half-staff for one hour.

On Sunday, May 17, ISU activists joined a large "End the War" Rally (estimates vary from three thousand to seven thousand) at Veterans Auditorium in Des Moines. A group of several thousand marched silently to the Statehouse where they were addressed by Iowa's United States Senator Harold E. Hughes, one of the principal authors of Amendment 609 which would cut off funds for the Indochina War (DMR 5/18/70, 1 and 3). More than four thousand signatures supporting the proposal were collected in Ames (ISD 5/16/70, 3).

One more event faced a city and a University already shell-shocked by the events of the last three weeks. On Friday, May 22, at 9:01 a.m., the Ames City Hall was bombed (ADT 5/22/70, 1, 4 and 5; DMR 5/27/70, 1 and 5). A dynamite bomb placed in a basement window well injured ten persons, two seriously, and did twenty thousand dollars damage to the southside of the building. Additional damage was done to two automobiles and the windows of nearby stores and offices. Governor Robert Ray helicoptered in to inspect the damage. University officials advised students, white and black, to stay away from downtown (Goodale 29; Bell 11). City officials expressed shock, but there was little suggestion that local antiwar protesters were responsible for the destruction.

The legal proceedings surrounding these events played themselves out during the summer and fall months. Charges against a few demonstrators were dismissed because of insufficient evidence (police testimony did not place them at the disturbances), including Norm Burrell on the resisting arrest charge (ISD 1/8/71, 2). Those facing the lesser charges of unlawful assembly and disturbing the peace stemming from the draft board sit-in typically received a sentence of seven days in jail (or a fifty dollar fine) on each charge (ISD 10/13/70, 1). After legal maneuvering, the four charged with resisting arrest in connection with the draft board sit-in received sentences ranging from ten to twenty days in jail (ISD 9/15/70, 3). Those charged with misdemeanors associated with the bus sit-in were sentenced to ten days jail time (or a fifty dollar fine) (ISD 12/9/70, 1). The bus sit-in demonstrators facing resisting arrest charges received sentences ranging from fifteen to thirty days (ADT 1/8/71). They appealed their case to the Iowa State Supreme

Court which years later ruled against them.[12] Most of those sentenced served time in the Story County jail between August and December 1970.

Discussion

In this section we examine the factors that contributed to the protests that occurred at Iowa State in response to the Cambodian invasion and the Kent State and Jackson State shootings. Brown (73) characterized the May 1970 events at Iowa State as representing a new level of antiwar activism: 'Cambodia was the first time that there was a sit-down in Ames, the first time a building was occupied, the first time that a strike call actually came off, the first time there were mass arrests, the first time mass bail was raised....' In the discussion that follows we examine why these events occurred, why they remained for the most part nonviolent and why the demonstrators moved from protest to active civil disobedience. We wish to highlight the role of the Moratorium, the highly emotional response of students, the heightened sense of personal responsibility felt by those arrested, why the draft board as a target contributed to individual decisions to commit civil disobedience, the protest leadership's commitment to nonviolence and the role of the university administration.

The yearlong effort of the Iowa State Moratorium Committee to end the war was clearly a factor influencing events in the aftermath of the Cambodian invasion. Locally and nationally, the Moratorium was committed to nonviolence; the goals listed in its founding statement were very explicit on the point of 'means.' Furthermore, Brown as leader of the ISU Moratorium was committed to Gandhian principles of nonviolent direct action (ISD 10/31/69, 8-9). Other demonstrators spoke of being influenced by King, Thoreau and Tolstoy (Marks 2; K. Patton 42). The extraordinary effort required to sustain the local Moratorium Committee over the entire school year cannot be understated. Very few antiwar organizations anywhere in the country showed the organizational imagination and will power that the ISU group did. Heineman's (1993) observation that substantial antiwar activities occurred at the 'backwater' schools as well as those at the 'epicenter' of the movement is confirmed in the case of ISU. All of the Moratorium's efforts and the philosophy it advocated clearly moved many people to publicly oppose the war for the first time. However, these efforts eventually burned-out those most active in the Moratorium, produced frustration and caused some to doubt the continued utility of demonstrations and nonviolent protest. After months of witnessing against the war, some local Moratorium leaders and supporters felt there was little more they could do to demonstrate community opposition to the war. There was little active support for the war, yet American involvement continued. The Moratorium activists would not have to worry about being 'cowards' in Lincoln's eyes. And yet, Political Science graduate student John Wagstaff's observation that the old leadership was 'dried up for ideas' and 'new blood was needed' would not have been contested by the local Moratorium leadership (35).

It is clear from the interviews that many of the participants were intensely disturbed by U.S. military action and the response of domestic authorities to the protests that occurred. Klomp (2-3) speaking of the first organized response, the 'People's Rally,' thought 'this was...a kind of critical point in time where either the country (would) fall into apathy...or there (would be) a massive cry of outrage.' Layton noted the 'shock, grief

(i.e., events involving thousands of participants), would occur. Crowds of that size would have foreclosed many of the tactics police used, but may have necessitated others. As events developed, actions against the draft provided opportunities for individual acts of civil disobedience.

Student leaders and their most ardent followers were committed to nonviolence. ISU Library Science Instructor 'Ted' Lawrence saw a pattern of Brown 'isolat(ing) radicals' by sharing responsibility for protest actions with them (10). Professor David Metzler noted that those inclined to violence were 'talked out of this by the student leaders who are committed to nonviolence' (9). In the 'Mass Rally' and march downtown to the draft board which followed, organizers wanted large turnouts but recognized the risk of violence that can occur in large crowds. Protest leaders and marshalls on occasion had to urge restraint on the part of demonstrators. Student marshalls at the ROTC drill field stopped a few protesters from harassing cadets (Klomp 10; Marks 8; Schnoor 3-4) and halted foot-stomping in the Armory during the second takeover (Potts 7-8). During the march downtown on May 6, parade marshalls kept some marchers from laying down in front of cars and prevented a couple of students from confiscating the Iowa Department of Transportation's American flag (Cott 1). Dean of Students Art Sandeen credited student protest leaders with keeping events nonviolent, 'Whether anybody would like to admit it or not that's what saved us in this whole situation...' (34).

Another factor that explains why protest at ISU was nonviolent was the attitude of university administrators, particularly those in the Dean of Students office. Although administrators made it clear that property damage or threats to any person's safety would not be tolerated, they acknowledged students' right to protest. Associate Dean of Students William Bell commented, '...the students understand that they are allowed to protest and they are allowed to demonstrate if they do it within the accepted standard' (14). This approach helped develop rapport and build trust between student leaders and the Dean of Students staff with whom they interacted on an almost daily basis (Goodale 34; Hutchins 6).

The university administration eschewed a heavy-handed approach for strategic reasons as well. Sandeen and other ISU administrators believed that bringing a large police force onto campus -- Ames city police, Iowa Highway Patrolmen or National Guardsmen -- would only worsen a tense situation (Sandeen 31, Lendt 17). They believed an unnecessary confrontation with students was the surest way to polarize the campus and radicalize the student body (Hutchins 13-14, Layton 10). Layton believed that Iowa State administrators had learned from what he regarded as mistakes by other universities, where decisions to deal harshly with demonstrators led to violence (Layton 5-6, 10). Along these lines, administrators retrospectively agreed that they had been right not to order the arrest of students occupying the Armory the night of May 5-6 or even subject the Armory occupiers to university disciplinary action (Goodale 10).

Most of the student leaders involved in the ISU antiwar movement were committed to a philosophy of nonviolent protest and went to great lengths to convince rank-and-file student demonstrators to keep protest activity peaceful. However, the extraordinary events associated with the Cambodian invasion and Kent State-Jackson State killings presented them with an

and frustration' that students felt over events of the time (10). Julia Patton thought that the invasion of Cambodia 'could be the first real step in World War III' (1). Johnson compared events after Kent State to the McCarthy era in America and Hitler's takeover of Germany (16-17); Apt talked about the 'horror of the present' (ISD 5/20/70, 2). The language of the students indicated the depth of their frustration. Protesters mocked Judge McKinney with 'Heil Hitlers!' and called him a 'dirty fascist' (Bennett 1; Schnoor 9). Bishop was labelled a 'war criminal' for ordering the tear gassing at the draft board (Klomp 19 and 28). Kundrat expressed disbelief that such events could happen in Iowa (10). Associate Dean of Students Tom Goodale (34) called the month of antiwar activity at ISU a more 'emotionally exhaustive experience' than serving 'sixteen days (as a National Guardsmen) in the streets of Detroit during the insurrection of 1967.'

Many of those who exposed themselves to arrest explained their actions in terms of a heightened personal commitment, moral and political, to ending the war. Wagstaff's (34) observation that students wanted to put their bodies on the line was voiced by many others. Davis (16) felt a need to 'jeopardize herself' to let people know her feelings. Brown thought personal commitment was the motivation of almost all those arrested and expressed a personal 'need and almost the desire to get arrested in legitimate political protest' (3 and 69). Ken Patton (5) was willing to risk arrest as a 'sign of personal commitment to the cause.' Almost comically, Ewoldt (2) did not want to go to the bus demonstration and did not want to get arrested because it was his first day on a new job and he did not want to jeopardize it, but he found himself there anyway; for him, personal commitment won out over 'good' sense. Maggie Shelton who first confronted being arrested during the Armory sit-in described it then as a 'small thing, nearly insignificant, but symbolic' (3). Her feelings had hardened by the time of the draft board actions: 'I'm not going to support a government that goes around killing its students.... Being at the draft board was a time for me to say 'No. This has got to stop.'' (17). English professor Norris Yates, arrested at the bus sit-in, expressed a view many others shared:

> I felt that it was time to make clear to myself as well as to anybody else who cared that I was willing to do more to bring about, in my small way, an end to the war of the young rather than just talking about it. Talking had been going on for five years and so had the war (State of Iowa v. Burrell, Ewoldt, Platt and Yates, 1970: 182).

During the same trial, Burrell (158) testified: 'Kent State had happened, Cambodia had happened and for me at least it was a kind of personal crisis situation in that we weren't being allowed to express our opposition to those things in any form that was directed at the people who had decisions to make about those things.'

The antiwar movement was a protest movement, in Ames and across the nation. It was against American military involvement in the war in Southeast Asia. At Iowa State, the war for the protesters became most explicitly identified with the draft and secondarily with ROTC. The draft board was not an easy target to sustain action against: it was a couple of miles from campus, attempting to shut it down necessitated action in the early-morning hours and required a high degree of personal commitment on the part of the protesters. Its selection as a target made it unlikely that mass action

unprecedented challenge. They felt the situation required a heightened level of commitment from them. More was required of them than just speaking out, something they had been doing for a long time. They moved from legal protest to civil disobedience. They had concluded that "There are times when words don't satisfy the cause."

Notes

1. When referring to student demonstrators, we include in our meaning of "student" individuals currently enrolled at Iowa State University, former ISU students and students from nearby high schools.

2. The antiwar movement as a whole is the subject of Charles DeBenedetti, An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1990); Tom Wells The War Within: America's Battle over Vietnam (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), and Nancy Zaroulis and Gerald Sullivan, Who Spoke Up?: American Protest Against the War in Vietnam, 1963-1975 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1984). General studies of the 1960s that give extensive coverage to the antiwar movement include John Morton Blum, Years of Discord: American Politics and Society, 1961-1974 (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991); David R. Farber, The Age of Great Dreams: America in the 1960s (New York: Hill & Wang, 1994); Todd Gitlin, The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage (New York: Bantam Books, 1987); Kim McQuaid, The Anxious Years: America in the Vietnam-Watergate Era (New York: Basic Books, 1989); Edward P. Morgan, The Sixties Experience: Hard Lessons about Modern America (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991); William L. O'Neill, Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960's (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), and David Steigerwald, The Sixties and the End of Modern America (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

3. See for example Jerry L. Avorn, Up Against the Ivy Wall: A History of the Columbia Crisis (New York: Atheneum Press, 1969); Tom Bates, Rads: The 1970 Bombing of the Army Math Research Center at the University of Wisconsin and Its Aftermath (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), and W. J. Rorabaugh, Berkeley at War: The 1960s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

4. Patrick D. Kennedy, "Reactions against the Vietnam War and Military-related Targets on Campus: The University of Illinois as a Case Study, 1965-1972," Illinois Historical Journal 1991: 108-118.

5. For studies of specific antiwar groups see Mitchell K. Hall, Because of Their Faith: CALCAV and Religious Opposition to the Vietnam War (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); Paul Hoffman, Moratorium: An American Protest (New York: Tower Publications, 1970); Jim Miller, Democracy is in the Streets: From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987); Kirkpatrick Sale, SDS: Ten Years toward a Revolution (New York: Random House, 1973), and Amy Swerdlow, Women Strike for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

6. The November 15 demonstration in Washington, D.C., was organized by the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a coalition of groups that included the Vietnam Moratorium Committee. March organizers estimated the size of the crowd to be 800,000 (Hoffman 1970, 181); more objective estimates ranged from 250,000 to 500,000 (DeBenedetti 1990, 451; Wells 1994, 392).

7. Citations in the text without reference to year of publication are from oral history interviews collected by the Iowa State University Library

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Department of Special Collections. A list of those interviewed appears in the Appendix.

8. Newspapers will be referenced extensively in the text. The following abbreviations are used: ISD for Iowa State Daily, the student newspaper; ADT for Ames Daily Tribune, the community newspaper; DMT for Des Moines Tribune, the central Iowa (Des Moines and surrounding counties) metropolitan newspaper, and DMR for Des Moines Register, the state-wide newspaper.

9. Co-author Clyde Brown was a major participant in the events described in this manuscript. Accordingly, the research in places has a dimension of 'observer/participant' about it. Still, we have strived to apply the accepted standards of political science and historical research to this work.

10. Of the 2,120 votes cast in the referendum, 655 (31%) favored immediate withdrawal, 571 (27%) favored withdrawal within one year, 407 (19%) favored 'Vietnamization' of the war, 327 (14%) favored withdrawal within one year coupled with continued military aid to the South, 139 (7%) favored unconditional military victory, and 21 (1%) favored continuation of present policy.

11. Bishop did not feel he could negotiate with the draft board demonstrators because a few weeks earlier he had gone on record as refusing to negotiate with anyone who broke the law. The arrest of a black ISU student, Roosevelt Roby, following a bar fight had led to charges of racism against police and city officials (ADT 4/15/70 1; ISD 4/24/70 1). In response to that situation Bishop had declared, 'We're not going to let people commit offenses and then negotiate' (Bishop 8). The Roby incident led to demonstrations at the municipal building. An incendiary device found at the home of Judge McKinney further heightened tension at the time (ADT 4/28/70 1 and 8).

12. Iowa v. Yates, Platt and Ewoldt, 243 N.W. 2nd 645 (Iowa 1976).

Appendix

Interviews in the University Archives, Iowa State University Library: 'University General -- Political Demonstrations -- Vietnam War, 1968-1974'

Augustine, Bill. ISU student (Farm Operations, Sr.) and member of Conservatives for Constructive Change.

Bell, William M. ISU Associate Dean of Students.

Bennett, Sally. ISU student (Interior Decorating, Fr.), charged with contempt of court.

Bishop, James F. Ames City Attorney.

Bjornseth, R.L. ISU student (Urban Planning, Sr.) and member of Conservatives for Constructive Change.

Brown, Clyde. ISU student (Economics, So.), former Iowa Moratorium Committee Coordinator, former Iowa State Moratorium Committee Coordinator and local antiwar activist, arrested at draft board sit-in.

Cott, Stewart. ISU student (Entomology, Sr.).

Davis, Nancy. ISU student (Dance, Sr.) and local antiwar activist, arrested at draft board sit-in.

Ewoldt, Steve. ISU student (History, Jr.) and local antiwar activist, arrested at draft bus sit-in.

Goodale, Thomas G. ISU Associate Dean of Students.

Gross, Ralph M. ISU graduate student (Education) and Peace Now organizer.

Hannah, James V. ISU student (Undeclared, Jr.) and local antiwar activist, arrested at draft board sit-in.

Hutchins, Edwin B. ISU Assistant to Vice President for Student Affairs.

Jesse, Norman. Des Moines Attorney representing arrested students.

Johnson, Claudia E. Executive Director of ISU YWCA.

Johnston, Dan. Des Moines Attorney representing arrested students.

Klomp, Jeff. ISU student (Psychology, Sr.) and local antiwar activist, arrested at draft board sit-n..

Kundrat, Mary Ann. ISU student (Pre-Medicine and Sociology, Fr.) and local antiwar activist.

Lawrence, Roger L. ISU Professor of Education and University Extension.

Lawrence, Stuart ('Ted'). ISU Instructor of Library Science.

Layton, Wilbur. ISU Vice President of Student Affairs.

Lindt, David. ISU Assistant to Vice President for Information and Development.

Marks, Douglas M. ISU student (Journalism and Mass Communication, So.) and local antiwar activist, arrested at draft board sit-in.

Metzler, David E. ISU Professor of Biochemistry and Biophysics.

Nelson, Robert. ISU student (Chemistry, So.) and Government of the Student Body Senator.

Parkin, Jerry D. ISU student (Political Science, So.) and Government of the Student Body Vice President.

Patton, Kenneth R. ISU student (History, Sr.).

Patton, Julia A. ISU alumnus (Philosophy, 1969).

Potts, Craig. ISU student (Psychology, Sr.).

Pyle, Robert. Ames Accountant and owner of building housing Story County Selective Service Office.

Rundle, John. ISU student (Mathmatics, Sr.) and local antiwar activist, arrested at draft board sit-in..

Sandeen, Art. ISU Dean of Students.

Schnorr, Jerald L. ISU student (Chemical Engineering, So.) and Government of the Student Body President.

Sharlin, Harold I. ISU Professor of History.

Shelton, Margery. ISU student (Sociology, Sr.), arrested at draft board sit-in.

Stebbins, John C. ISU student (Urban Planning, Sr.).

Trembly, Robert. ISU student (Economics, Sr.), Peace Now organizer and local antiwar activist, arrested at draft board sit-in.

Wagstaff, John F. ISU graduate student (Political Science).

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Iowa State University Library. University Archives. Manuscript collection entitled "University General - Political -- Demonstrations -- Vietnam War, 1968-1974."

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